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SANITY IN THE SADDLE

World's people rebel to halt U.S. on brink of an atomic war

THROUGHOUT the world the pretensions of U. S. foreign policy crumbled under the impact of military debacle in Korea and Western panic at President Truman's threat to use the A-bomb. The Dulles-Truman-MacArthur policies, having led the world to the brink of atomic war, were brought up short last week by what Howard K. Smith, CBS London correspondent, called "a popular rebellion forced from below on reluctant governments." Prime Minister Attlee's flight to Washington at the end of a hectic week was a decision to oppose "war with China at any cost," said Smith—as spokesman not only for a united Britain but for

> . . . 700,000,000 free people in opposing American war policies. The revolt has been universal. It is in every free nation and in every political party from left to right.

In the U. S. the **Wall St. Journal** warned that the country faces "national ruin" if it does not recognize its foreign policy mistakes and stop "waving its fists at a man when you are standing downhill with the sun in your eyes." The paper called for "appeasing China" as the least disastrous of possible alternatives and for treating U. S. allies henceforth as "true partners" rather than bought "followers."

DOUBLE THE DOSE: In Washington there was growing befuddlement but no sign of mistakes recognized. Authors of the war policy rushed to prescribe heavier doses of the same. President Truman asked Congress for another $18,000,000,000 for war (bringing this year's war expenditures to $50,000,000,000), named an over-all Civil Defense Director, brusquely told Europe to rearm and fast. His Administration stepped up A-bomb production, speeded

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How much longer will the insanity hold?

Two American soldiers, keeping a lonely vigil along the banks of the Yalu River separating North Korea from Manchuria, gaze across the snow-swept Manchurian hills. Shortly after this picture was taken, the UN retreat began in sub-freezing weather. Can you read the thoughts of these GIs 5,000 miles away from home as Christmas approaches?

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE DOVER GROUP DEMAND PEACE—AND THE PRESS BLACKS OUT BOTH

Nat'l Committee calls for action to 'stop World War III' at once

Meeting in New York over the weekend, the National Committee of the Progressive Party issued the following call to action to "stop World War III":

IN this hour of decision, the alternatives are clear: Peace or atomic devastation; a settlement in Korea by mediation, or extension of the war to China and a world-wide conflict.

The people of the whole world were dismayed when Gen. MacArthur launched his disastrous offensive at the very moment the Chinese delegates arrived at the UN for negotiation. They have recoiled in horror at President Truman's threat of atomic death to hundreds of thousands of innocent Korean and Chinese people whenever he should order dropping of the A-bomb.

These reckless acts are making our government the object of fear and hatred among the people of the world, and especially among the colored peoples against whom the President's threat of atomic vengeance was directed. These acts are alienating the peoples of Britain and France and leaving America in isolation. If world war comes because our government has rejected the only path to peace, we will stand alone, without friends or firm allies anywhere. There is no protection in atom bombs, for American cities, too, can be their targets. The only security for our country is the security that lies in stopping the war before it engulfs us.

THE first step must be to stop the fighting in Korea. This is the only way to save the lives of thousands of Americans now in battle and to keep the war from spreading. To that end, we call upon the President to make these proposals in the UN immediately:

(1) A cease-fire order, both sides to maintain their present positions.

(2) The appointment of a special mediation commission, including representatives of the U. S., the U.S.S.R., India and the new China. The commission to meet with representatives of South and North Korea to bring about a settlement of the conflict, providing for withdrawal of all foreign troops and establishment of a united, independent and democratic Korea.

We also call for:

(1) Seating of the Republic of China in the UN to give their rightful representation to the four hundred seventy-five million people of that nation, opening the way to a general settlement in the Far East.

(2) A four power conference of the U. S., England, France and the U.S.S.R. on the German question, opening the way to a peaceful settlement in Europe.

We again call for a UN agreement outlawing atomic weapons and all other instruments of mass destruction, as proposed to the governments of the world by the International Red Cross.

We urge all Americans, regardless of other differences, to unite in calling on the President for peace, not the A-bomb.

Big-business leaders ask Truman to get U. S. out of Korea, Formosa

WHEN the Cabots and the Lowells of Boston speak, a great number of important and influential people listen. Last week they spoke. What they had to say was startling, but almost all U. S. newspapers outside of Boston turned a deaf ear. They sent a message to the President signed by 21 of Boston's leading bankers, industrialists, lawyers and educators (known as the Dover Group) urging the UN to adopt these proposals for a prompt settlement of the war:

- Withdrawal of UN troops from Korea.
- Withdrawal of the U. S. 7th Fleet from Formosan waters.
- Seating of representatives of the Chinese People's Republic at UN.

This was the first important break in Republican ranks on Far Eastern policy.

OLD CHINA HANDS: Three members of the Cabot family (which long ago made its fortune in the China trade) signed: Thomas D. Cabot, president of United Fruit Co.; Judge Charles C. Cabot, director of Old Colony Trust; Henry B. Cabot, trustee of the Boston Symphony. Others were: Ralph Lowell, president of the Boston Safe Deposit & Trust and director of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.; and Charles A. Coolidge, a director of the Harvard Corporation.

Among the prominent bankers and industrialists who signed were:

> Lloyd D. Brace, president of Boston's First National Bank and director of the Rockefeller-Morgan-Guggenheim American Smelting & Refining Co.; Halfdan Lee, also a director of AS&R, and of the First National; Conrad Hobbs, retired wool merchant; Joel Harrell, president of New England Telephone & Telegraph and of the Union Trust, director of First National.

Among the educators and lawyers:

> James R. Killian Jr., president of M.I.T.; Charles E. Wyzanski, U. S. District Court Judge; Thomas H. Mahoney, attorney, president of the Catholic Assn. for International Peace; Lewis Perry, former president of Phillips Exeter Academy; Philip Ketchum, partner of a big Boston law firm and director of New England Trust; Lawrence Lombard, lawyer and industrialist.

Others who signed were: Erwin D. Canham, editor of the **Christian Science Monitor**; John H. Crider, editor of the **Boston Herald**; Thomas H. Eliot, former Congressman and lawyer in the U. S. Labor Dept.; and four prominent State St. attorneys.

THE CONDITIONS: The Dover Group, whose petition stirred much excitement in Boston, set several conditions to "acceptance of what we understand to be the three Chinese armistice proposals." These were that the Chinese also withdraw from Korea; that a primarily Asiatic UN Commission hold elections in all Korea; that a UN force police the terms of this agreement in Korea; that the Chinese agree to arbitration of the Formosan question in the UN. They also asked "vigorous and immediate building up of our defense establishment."

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THE MAIL BAG

Marc's spirit

BERWYN, PA.

Marcantonio's picture on the front page (Nov. 10) is a most striking thing and I can't get it out of my mind. It is the picture of a real man of the people who after an election defeat during which he worked night and day, still looks as if he had an inexhaustible love for people, an unquenchable fighting spirit.

To me Marc is the symbol of the people's never ending fight for their rights, and I implicitly believe as he says, that "the ultimate victory belongs to us." And as someone else has said, "The people lose all the battles except the last one."

Just as Marc is almost the only clear voice raised continuously in defense of the people's rights, so also is the GUARDIAN almost the only organ which ..ever stops fighting with words for the people.

C. Donald Woodward

Daybreak in the South

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

I am enclosing $1 to keep the GUARDIAN going. It is our only light in a war darkened world. But I feel that day is breaking in the South notwithstanding the fact that my grandson is somewhere in Korea. Here in Knoxville a Fellowship House has been organized by the Unitarians and a good lot of people from the TVA, the University of Tennessee and the leaders of the Progressive Party are taking part in it. Last summer there was a day camp for white and colored children and a number of worthwhile projects are planned for the future. Some day I may get up enough courage to go to one of the meetings and set right down in front with the white people where I can hear what is being said. **Mary Baker**

Hope springs in Carlsbad

CARLSBAD, CALIF.

The editors sound a bit downhearted in the Nov. 15 article "The Progressive Movement, the Press and the Future." I was too, just after the elections, especially on election night when the only IPP and ALP returns I heard over the radio were the chortlings of a well known fascist-minded news commentator crowing over Marc's defeat.

Our group has voted to meet twice a month to keep abreast of things and with the view in mind of raising funds for the elections two years hence. We seem to have much more enthusiasm now than two years ago. I was one of the "rank and file" two years ago, and now am secretary of our small group. The GUARDIAN is primarily responsible for my turning from an inactive IPP member into an active one. So please don't be discouraged. If it can happen to me, it can happen to the average American housewife.

Mrs. L. Afton Jandro

The editors approve

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Our paper must go on. I pledge myself to send one dollar each month for the sustaining fund. I'd like to suggest that we have a dollar a month brigade, a two dollar brigade, and so on. If this sustaining fund is established, our editors will be released from the hades of nervous tension over debts. Then you can direct all of your energies to the other business of our paper.

Cora P. Wilson

Morals vs. jobs

OVERTON, NEV.

I am admiring your hopeful position on countering the war and reactionary laws, but simply cannot reconcile the obvious fact that labor, organized and unorganized, will vote a peace penny, as it were, against a war dollar: morals balanced against jobs. **E. A. Jonely**

Advice to progressives

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Now that the melancholy events of Nov. 7 are history, it would seem to be time for all progressives to sit down and do some soul-searching on ways and means of recouping lost ground. We must admit that the Left in America is at its lowest point in the last 30 years.

If we search for causes, near the top is the low state of political education of the American people. Our so-called organs of information contain hardly an article a year giving us an accurate picture of our economic or political system, but plenty of lies and distortions about the international situation. All that can be seen is the continual building up of phony issues, and hate, hate, hate of the Soviet Union.

Any social psychologist or, for that matter, any sensible politician will tell you that before people will do anything about a situation, they have to know and understand it. Before any strong measure of political action can be taken by the progressive movement, the American people must be told what the real situation is. There is only one medium through which this can be accomplished: building up the circulation of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

If the progressive movement wants more people on its side, it will have to get more readers for the GUARDIAN. This can only be done through making the sale of GUARDIAN subscriptions an important part of the regular political activity of the Progressive Party.

It is a disgusting commentary on our times that, as a government employe of 20 years experience, I would be fired if it were known that I wrote this letter. Therefore, though unsigned, I remain,

A Friend

Guardian and the campus

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

The Young Progressives at the University of Illinois feel that it is inadvisable to distribute the GUARDIAN as a club project since our group does not completely support all the views expressed by your paper and since it is not an official YPA paper.

Your use of "sensationalism" in headlines, pictures, captions, is not quite fitting for a progressive newspaper that is trying to appeal to mature, alert adults. If you use this form of "yellow journalism" to obtain the N. Y. Daily News type of reader, we feel you will not only not succeed in the latter, but will alienate many of your progressives readers. **Diane Sank**

Total agreement by everyone on everything is said to exist in heaven. Hope to see you there, Illinois YPA's! Ed.

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Another GUARDIAN reader and I have just made arrangements to place the GUARDIAN on the news stand of the store on the University of California campus, owned and operated by the Associated Students of the University. There is at present no general awareness of the existence of such a publication, but we feel certain that in a short while, with the possible assistance of an advertisement or two in the **Daily Californian**, a substantial readership can be built up. **William E. Cook**

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How about this plan to strengthen our movement:

Send sample copies of the GUARDIAN to a group of students in every college and university in our land. Have a questionnaire incorporated in each sample asking the student's opinion of the paper. In this manner we might broaden our appeal where it might do the most good. **A Friend**

Replica of Germany

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

We earnestly hope the GUARDIAN will see its way to continue the marvelous work it is doing in giving the people of the U.S. the true facts at a time when we are receiving via newspapers and radio only "the big lie."

It is sad beyond words to see the U.S. turned into a replica of Nazi Germany in the '30's and one's friends as completely under the spell of the big lie as the Germans were; and to be able to have nothing but utter contempt for those who happen at present to be in the positions of the controlling groups.

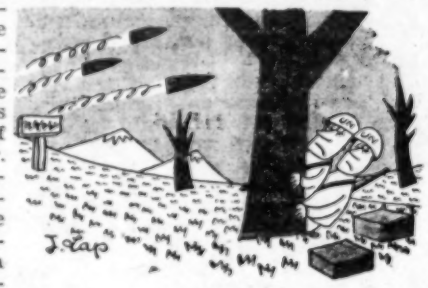
Margaret St. Clair

Max Werner

The Chinese offensive

IN the new battle for North Korea the Chinese have already shown war experience, tactical skill, good organization and discipline. The planning of their surprise offensive on the command level has been remarkable. The Chinese are using guerrilla tactics of surprise checks, ambush and night offensives but by big units.

It seems that Chinese strategy is elastic. Its first design is an outflanking maneuver against the core of the UN forces in the western sector. Objective of the move is encirclement and destruction of the three U. S. divisions on the left bank of the Chongchon river. Yet the steady pouring of Chinese reserves all along the extended front indicates the intention to wage a long-drawn campaign of attrition, if necessary.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Oh, oh . . . here comes the Chinese delegation."

BOMBS NO SOLUTION: On the UN side it is mainly **land power**, the reserves in land troops, that can restore the situation and rebuild the front. Gen. MacArthur's main and urgent problem is that of reserves in combat power. In the sharply critical situation in North Korea there is no substitute for fighting men. As things stand, neither air offensive nor landing operations can stem the Chinese tide.

Bombing Manchurian bases cannot bring a solution since the Chinese troops do not depend on supply from Manchurian industry centers. Their field bases are dispersed and well-hidden. Besides, the air defense of the Manchurian bases might turn out to be quite strong. Furthermore, it is very probable that the Chinese Command might react to an offensive against Manchuria with the speeding up and strengthening of its own land offensive.

As the experience of the Korean war has already indicated, the heavy bomber cannot stop the land attack. Reports from the front stress now that even the mobile U. S. tactical aviation is rather ineffective against the scattered and guerrilla-trained Chinese troops.

WHERE ARE THE RESERVES? Neither can the UN command now count on a repetition of the Inchon landing. Battles now are being waged on the continent proper, with the battle front less accessible from the sea and strategically controlled from the north—from the North Korean-Manchurian land mass.

Yet it is not only geography that speaks against the immediate possibility of landings. To come to the rescue of a land army, amphibious operations need a stabilized main front of land defense, available reserves for attack and superiority in land power against the undefended flank of the enemy. Gen. MacArthur cannot yet count on either of these possibilities.

Immediate task of the UN forces is obviously to shorten the overextended front lines and bolster the defense forces, which can be carried out with U. S. reinforcements only. The problem is to hold a shorter front with more troops. More troops means fresh reinforcements from the continental United States.

"HORDES" WITH A STING: Even more than the preceding campaign, the Chinese stage of the Korean war will be a contest between two land powers. The Chinese are staking their offensive on the use of active infantry masses, fighting with limited amounts of heavy offensive weapons, of tanks and medium and heavy artillery.

The Chinese mass army is challenging Western superiority in air power, fire power and heavy weapons. But so far the Chinese offensive has shown the strategic possibilities of lightly armed mobile infantry. It has taught a lesson to Western experts who underestimated the modern Asian armies. There should be no doubt, however, that—as this column stated many times years ago—what is sometimes called "Asian hordes" is developing into a modern and effective land power. The war in Korea is a modern war, though the Chinese have only a few planes and tanks, and no super-weapons at all.

It is a modern war because it shows the change in the relationship of forces caused by the appearance of the new Chinese Army. About two-thirds of the entire U.S. Army is tied up in North Korea, but on the Chinese side probably less than one-third of one single army group is participating.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

How subversive can a tablecloth get?

The American Legion, according to UP, feels that it is "terrible, horrible" that Russian and Czech Christmas gift merchandise is being sold in the U.S. and says it should be banned. Said Donald Schoolman, business manager of **Soviet Russia Today** (which sent out circulars advertising the goods): "American concerns are currently buying manganese from the U.S.S.R., yet we don't hear any cry raised that this should be banned because it is communist manganese."

If you feel about the American Legion protest as we do, just turn to page 7 and order some of these fine bargain items from the GUARDIAN.

World's people revolt to halt U.S. on brink of atomic war

(Continued from Page 1)

mobilization, rushed construction on a new H-bomb plant in South Carolina.

At his press conference last week, the desperately worried President grimly said the U.S. is fighting "for survival" in Korea, would not withdraw. Questioned by reporters, he said the U.S. was actively considering use of the A-bomb, that prior authorization by the UN is not necessary, that its use is up to the commander in the field. While correspondents flashed the sensational news to world capitals, the Atomic Energy Commission rushed out a statement that the deadly bomb could be used within hours of its authorization and MacArthur's headquarters radioed that airmen were ready. These statements suggested that A-bombs are in the Pacific ready for use.

Land og Folk, Copenhagen

CONFUSION CONFOUNDED: In Western Europe reaction to Truman's threat was so violent that three hours later the White House issued a denial that there was any change in A-bomb policy. GUARDIAN's John Stone, who attended the Presidential press conference, said that to most reporters present it seemed that the White House denial "flatly contradicted" what Truman had said. Stone reported:

> Embassies in Washington are cautious and worried. It appears to observers here that America alone is eager to start World War III. Ambassadorial visitors to the State Dept. are silent, uncommunicative. Second-level diplomats are ready enough to say off the record that some peaceful means must be found, that their countries are not ready for war, that war is not necessary.

The U.S.S.R. and China, against whom the A-bomb threat was directed, ignored it. Peking called it "extreme provocation" but declined to be intimidated. Moscow had no comment. But reports of the "fear," "shock," "alarm" of the U.S.'s allies filled even the pro-war U.S. press.

TORY EXPLOSION: French and British misgivings had been developing (and chronicled regularly in the GUARDIAN) since last summer, when U.S. demands for all-out rearmament threatened to raise beyond control their already skyrocketing living costs. U.S. determination to arm Germany provoked opposition even among French ministers, some of whom advocated withdrawal from the Atlantic Pact into neutrality.

In Britain, Tory Lord Salisbury set off the simmering revolt last month when he demanded in the House of Lords immediate negotiations with Communist China on Korea and a positive reply to the Soviet proposal for a four-power conference on Germany. Even Britain's ultra-reactionary **Daily Mail** conceded that the West Germans are almost unanimously opposed to rearmament, wondered why "nobody has told the Allied chiefs about it."

More than 80 Labour MP's who have put motions on the calendar in the past month demanding a new initiative in foreign policy have done so, ex-Labour MP Konni Zilliacus told the GUARDIAN after consultation with Herbert Morrison, Leader of the House and final authority next to the Prime Minister on such matters. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported that the protesting MP's

> . . . were staggered at the response from the country. Mr. Ellis Smith received hundreds of letters a day, said: "I have never known any political move to produce such an electric effect."

Zilliacus reported:

> Even in the high Tory Carlton Club there are now condemnations of American jingoism and the total disregard of British views and interests. A surprisingly large number of British Conservatives . . . are indignant because British protests against U.S. propping up of Chiang Kai-shek and refusal to recognize the Government of China have been contemptuously disregarded in Washington. Labour is feeling the same, only more so. . . . The demand for negotiations with the Soviet Union to stop the drift to war has been taken up by mass circulation papers like The People and Sunday Pictorial.

GALLIC EPITHETS: Syngman Rhee atrocities in Korea angered British public opinion. When Washington recently brushed aside British, French and Belgian opposition to MacArthur's drive to the Manchurian border, and their proposals for a buffer zone in Korea, criticism of MacArthur became open and blunt.

Following last week's military reverses, the Press Chief of the French

(Continued on Page 4)

A sitdown for peace

Two hundred young men and women demonstrated against use of the A-Bomb at Lake Success last week. UN guards tried to freeze them out but they stuck it out for hours.

Gen. Wu talks back and Asia comes of age

Guardian UN correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

A WIRY, rugged, scholarly man with a yellow skin made history last week when he spoke before the international tribunal in which his people—one-quarter of humanity—are barred from membership. Heading one of the most youthful delegations ever to appear here, China's Gen. Wu Hsiu-chuan shattered the suavity of great white power diplomats by talking to them as an equal. He declared before the world that China is no longer their semi-colony, that it insists on full sovereign rights and cannot be moved by any kind of threats.

The arrival of the delegation from Peking coincided with the launching of Gen. MacArthur's "Home by Christmas" offensive in Korea. The offensive stilled Thanksgiving Day peace rumors which had been sparked by a three-week lull and withdrawal of Korean and Chinese forces and by release with friendly messages of groups of U.S. prisoners taken by the Chinese. UN delegates said bitterly that the offensive seemed deliberately designed to render futile the talks with China here. The right-wing Paris **Figaro** headline summed up West European opinion: "MacArthur Offensive Worst Service He Could Render UN."

"KREMLIN SLAVES"—AUSTIN: On Tuesday a special MacArthur communique, stating that "we face a new war" as a result of Chinese intervention, roused hysterical voices in the press with its demand in effect for new powers to carry the war to China itself. The eyes of all the world were on "Mr. Wu" when he rose that day to speak before the Security Council.

Wu's mission was to press his government's charge of U.S. aggression against Taiwan (Formosa), China's island now occupied by Chiang Kai-shek; Peking had declined to discuss a U.S. complaint of Chinese aggression against Korea based on a MacArthur memorandum. With the help of Council President Bebler (Yugoslavia) the U.S. got the two items lumped together on the agenda. Reversing the usual procedure whereby the accuser speaks before the accused, Bebler gave the floor first to Austin of the U.S.

Austin accused China's Communists of being Moscow's slaves because they took the same "line" as Russian Communists. From the record of U.S.-China relations he picked American school and hospital projects in China as evidence of disinterested friendship. He did not mention the estimated $6,000,000,000 aid to Chiang nor the fact that as he spoke the U.S. barred shipment to China of penicillin and other medicines. He accused China of "open and notorious aggression" in Korea. His "20 questions" to Wu boiled down to a threat to carry the war to China if China presumed to take an interest in developments in Korea.

CHINA HAD IT BEFORE: Speaking in Mandarin, the standard literary Chinese (Chiang's delegates use English), Wu tersely declined to take part in any discussion of "aggression against South Korea" and said as long as China is excluded from UN it "has no reason to recognize" UN resolutions or decisions. Then he devastatingly presented China's case against the U.S. for its interference in Taiwan (barring China by armed force from access to its own island), continued violation of China's frontiers, bombing of Chinese towns and citizens.

Recalling that "long before Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan," he quoted recent recognitions by the Cairo and Potsdam agreements, U.S. statesmen (including Presidents Roosevelt and Truman), the State Dept. White Paper, that Taiwan is part of China. To show that the Korean war is only a pretext for seizing Taiwan, he used U.S. sources for documentation and asked: "Is it conceivable that because of the Spanish Civil War, Italy was entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica?" The U.S., he said, is following the plan of the Japanese aggressor Tanaka—that to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, first Manchuria and Mongolia; to conquer these, first Korea and Taiwan. He warned Council members:

> "Do not be taken in by the U.S. Do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the U.S. If you support the U.S. aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. . . .
>
> "Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the U.S., or have U.S. armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? . . . It is precisely because the U.S. armed forces crossed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered."

NO MORE COOLIES: Wu wound up with a demand that the Council apply "severe sanctions" against the U.S. and effect its withdrawal from Taiwan and Korea. The shock, hostility and dismay of master-race delegates at this 90-minute speech by an Asian who neither crawled nor begged, who was neither a coolie nor a quisling nor the grateful pupil of some Christian mission, was more pleasant to Orientals at UN than most of them would put into words. For the first time ordinary Asians had taken power into their own hands and were standing up uncompromisingly against Western imperialists (the Japanese had done it, but they were imperialists themselves). What had been shown was that the new China was afraid of nothing and would talk as an equal. What U.S. delegates and press falsely tried to make out of it was that Peking's intransigence shattered all hopes for negotiation.

Russia's Malik supported the Chinese charges but did not succeed in getting Council members to discuss them after Austin said the U.S. had no time for such "lying propaganda." The Council voted down 9 to 1 the Soviet resolution demanding U.S. withdrawal from Taiwan and Korea; Malik vetoed the six-power resolution calling on China to get out of Korea.

GEN. WU HSIU-CHUAN AND JACOB MALIK
The meeting and greeting at Lake Success

Sir Benegal Rau of India (which did not participate in the voting) spoke briefly, stressing the desire on all sides for peace. He suggested Wu travel around the U.S. to discover that Americans are really warm-hearted people. (What Rau apparently didn't know: Wu and his delegation are in the U.S. on "restricted visas" barring them from anywhere outside the N.Y.-Long Island area.)

Next U.S. step was to take China's intervention in Korea to the General Assembly, which under the Acheson Plan now has the right to apply military sanctions. Conscious of a world-wide revolt against its policies which have led to the brink of disaster, Washington was moving with caution pending the discuussion with British Premier Attlee.

(Continued from Page 3)

Foreign Office at a press conference called MacArthur the shortest and most offensive epithet in the French language. Leading newspapers throughout Europe urged the UN not to give MacArthur the blank check he demanded in Korea. London's **New Statesman & Nation** wrote: "MacArthur acted in defiance of all common sense and in such a way as to provoke the most peace-loving nation." The U.S. denunciation of China in the UN, said U.P. from London Nov. 29

. . . was met with stunned silence by officials in virtually every Atlantic Pact capital of Europe.

THE REVOLT SPREADS: In this atmosphere the President's A-bomb threat exploded, as the N.Y. **Times'** Harold Callender wrote from Paris, "with an effect not unlike that of a bombshell." From every West European capital came official cries of protest. In Britain's House of Commons, where a two-day foreign policy debate was being concluded, CBS's Smith reported:

The House emptied immediately and a Labour member immediately organized a letter of protest to Attlee. Within two hours, 150 of the Labourite members had signed the letter, one member of the House of Lords sent over his signature, Anthony Eden, deputy leader of the opposition, announced his moral support, and five Liberal House members sent their own letter to Attlee.

Attlee's visit to the U.S., Smith said, is essential to prevent a party split but "may be too late to save [Foreign Secy.] Bevin" (most closely associated with Washington policies). It followed de-

ERNEST BEVIN
Is it goodbye?

mands of Churchill and other Conservative leaders (all opposed to war with China) that Britain have top-level representation in the U.S. at this critical period. Britain knows it will be the first victim of an atom war. Its attitude toward China is dictated by the hundreds of millions of pounds at stake there and by the fact that without China markets British standards cannot be maintained.

TELL HARRY: Over the week-end senior British and French ministers reached agreement in London on a common program to present to the U.S. They will try to avoid war with China at almost any cost, seek a conference with China and Russia in an effort to achieve a general settlement of East-West differences, try to assert some control through the UN over military operations in Korea and use of the A-bomb. British thinking was further reflected in week-end speeches in New York by chief British Assembly delegate Kenneth Younger and in Britain by Cabinet Minister Hugh Dalton. Both said China must be admitted to the UN.

Australian newspapers deplored "Gen. MacArthur's misjudgment and the resultant blow to UN prestige." Among British Commonwealth nations supporting the Attlee program, strongest anti-U.S. feeling was in India where reaction to Truman's A-bomb statement was "about as adverse as possible," according to the N.Y. **Times.**

NO INTELLIGENCE: In Washington the President held long week-end conferences with top advisers. The N.Y. **Times'** James Reston reported the U.S. position was stiffening, but threats, not policy, continued to emerge. Explanations for the Korean debacle were legion. Truman stood by MacArthur. At his Thursday conference he denounced press criticism of MacArthur as detrimental to the war effort.

MacArthur himself in some half-dozen "exclusive" interviews blamed his setback on "the enormous handicap" of not being able to bomb Manchuria. But the Alsop brothers in their syndicated column put the blame squarely on MacArthur's intelligence service headed by Maj. Gen. Willoughby. They wrote:

No general in his senses would have hurled our thin lines of men, with a great gap in the center, against an enemy whom he did not confidently regard as weak and on the run. . . . It is a dreadful thing that MacArthur thus walked into a huge, well-laid trap. But it is more just . . . to admit this frankly than to try to pretend he got into the trap of his own volition.

Chief of Staff Gen. J. Lawton Collins was dispatched to Tokyo. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported that Pentagon officials.

. . . have been startled at the flood of interviews which Gen. MacArthur has been giving . . . and they are shaken by the rapid multiplication of the enemy's numbers, which seem to double every 24 hours.

"WE CANNOT BE SILENT": At Flushing Meadow, where the U.S. was expected momentarily to introduce a resolution condemning China, strong demands for peace and an end to the East-West conflict broke through the UN General Assembly's formal discussion of admission of new members. Syria's Faris El Khoury said:

"We cannot be silent any longer. We have no right to go to war. Do you expect us to vote for a war? We must admit to the UN all nations that fulfill international obligations. The government of China is in full and effective control of all China, except Formosa. It belongs in the UN. It cannot be kept out any longer. It is fighting now in Korea but we will talk to it about Korea after it is a member of this Assembly. What happened to the unanimous resolution that the Big Five should meet and work out differences? When resolutions are passed, they must be implemented."

He concluded with an apology for "perhaps having gone too far." Assembly President Nasrollah Entezam (Iran) replied: "Not at all. I quite agree with you." The Assembly broke into heavy applause.

"NO NEW THING": As Chinese-Korean forces (on Monday estimated by MacArthur to total 1,000,000) approached Pyongyang, the N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** Christopher Rand suggested a more basic miscalculation at the root of the U.S.'s present dilemma:

The sudden discovery that conventional arms lack power against revolutions is no new thing. The British lobsterbacks made it in 1776. Armies of Europe found they could not put down the revolutionary French. The Russian Reds amazed the world by fighting off Czarist armies led by the ablest White generals and backed by foreign intervention. The world has eventually adjusted to these surprises and will no doubt have to do the same thing now.

Action, Paris
France plays hookey

This is the meaning of the Warsaw Congres

Humanity will not agree to wars

By Gordon Schaffer
GUARDIAN special correspondent

WARSAW

AS the most representative international gathering in the world's history (nearly 2,000 delegates from over 80 countries) adopted with acclamation an appeal for peace, a young American beside me in a corner of the hall muttered cynical comments. He had come from no one knows where, probably the U.S. Embassy.

His words seemed fatuous and futile against this great demonstration, and it seemed to me there was fear as well as hatred in his voice. For here in truth was a gathering of the peoples justifying the claim to speak with "the genuine voice of peace-loving mankind." Chinese and Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, Arabs and Jews; men and women from colonial countries sitting side by side with representatives of the nations that still oppress them; they were all here.

WHERE'S THE CURTAIN? Warsaw has changed the balance of forces in the world. The Western press

Giles in the Daily Express, London
"Mum! Cyril's wrote a wicked word."

monopolies concealed the simple aims of the Stockholm Appeal, tried to convince the people that only a few Communists and hangers-on supported it. But the struggle came into the open when the British government under U.S. pressure wrecked the Sheffield Congress by barring entry to the best representatives of mankind: artists and scientists, ministers of religion, musicians, poets, workers from mine and factory.

Poland, depicted in the Western press as a land of tyranny, opened its doors to all and gave unlimited facilities to Western journalists, who tried to redress matters by reporting every sort of hostile gossip rather than the conference. But they have lost their grip. You can't fool all the people all the time.

DISARM BY DISARMING: What were the positive achievements of Warsaw? Firstly, it has gone far beyond the demands of the Stockholm Appeal and placed before the world a program for disarmament which could finally remove the threat of war.

Stockholm concentrated on the atom bomb because its fiendish possibilities could bring home to hundreds of millions the imminent danger facing them. Warsaw has put forward a program for "progressive, simultaneous, and proportional reduction of all armed forces, ground, one-third to one-half," under UN to inspect ar all countries.

The Warsaw appeal w the West with the same Stockholm one. But just war were exposed by th for abolition in the those who advocate rea the fact that in the as potential aggressors heartedly back the Wars

EVERYONE HEARD: Warsaw and Sheffield h peace partisans moveme curely on the progressive suggest now that it stem is about the most dange could use: the inevitab communism has the mo

In fact, the Warsaw wards to ensure a hearin ion. Out-and-out pacifis strong of Howth Rector with respect and sympa most every religion were the rostrum. Since O. J ber of the U.S. delegat of one on the World Co perfectly easy to deny h was allowed to talk to

Humphrey Moore of cized the majority policy in Paris, was specially in at Warsaw. He used th revolutionary changes m —an argument which w ington, the French and E of the other great adva

ALL FOR PEACE: Pie Minister) spoke firmly from the Eastern coun ficult to understand the under the peace banner diverse political views.

"We embrace those w and those who support such differences of opinio unity but we would not t gress hall. We seek to b are for peace and agains views on other matters w portant and which is so d is not true that we are of the U.S.A. We are frie

Cot summed up the men and women in the Korean situation. To th and the Eastern democra beginning was a clear But many in the West started by North Kore man used the situatio and Indo-China, and re at the UN, that many s

'Stop shooting, start talking'—PP leaders

AROUND New York City two-sheet posters appeared, saying in bold black on canary yellow:

"The Best Defense of America is Peace with China."

In Philadelphia, the slogan was "Stop shooting, start talking."

In New Jersey, in Virginia, holiday greeting-card campaigns related the hopes for peace today with the memory of the Prince of Peace. In New England, along the West Coast, in Michigan, in Ohio, in Illinois, the Progressive Party and its branches were in full motion as the only political party throughout the nation proposing a full, unequivocal peace program.

THE PROGRAM: In New York's Tom Mooney Hall the national committee of the Progressive Party convened in a week-end meeting which at its height was attended by more than 300 party leaders from 20 states.

The meeting set forth a simple, direct program: cease-fire in Korea; mediate between North and South through a special UN commission including China and India as well as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. It called for immediate seating of China and a four-power conference on Germany to assure peace in Europe.

United Mine Workers' Journal

It girded for a fight to kill the McCarran Act; to safeguard the Bill of Rights against current nullification of the First, Fourth and Fifth Amendme guaranteeing the citizenry freedom o speech, press and assembly as well as freedom from inquisition.

Special resolutions called for uncon-ditional freedom for Lt. Leon Gilbert, Negro war hero now facing 20 years' hard labor for alleged disobedience in Korea; quashing the contempt-of-Congress indictment against William Patterson of the Civil Rights Congress, and restoration of Paul Robeson's passport.

THE SCORE: Election reports from 16 states showed a total Progressive vote

ress

# of intervention in the name of peace

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Pierre Cot (former French Air
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which makes this Congress so im-
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riends of peace and enemies of war."

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refused North Korea a hearing
saw who were the aggressors.

Then, in a brilliant analysis of the European situation, Cot showed where millions of allies for the cause of peace could be found. There were in Western Europe, he said, many supporters of the capitalist system who were alarmed at the clumsiness of U. S. diplomacy, and who feared to be drawn to a point beyond which they would not wish to go. These "partisans of neutrality" could become valuable allies.

NEVER AGAIN: The Congress was conscious all the time of the need to broaden its appeal, but the grim facts of the world situation prevented it from divorcing itself from reality. The Chinese delegation, which included members of the government, underlined with fierce insistence the actual threat of world war which hangs over the East. China sees MacArthur defying the wishes of the UN and disproving the honeyed words of O. John Rogge, bringing war to China by the same steps as the Japanese militarists. Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, China: to the Chinese people it is the Tanaka Memorandum over again. And to them the need for resistance is as clear as in the years when these same politicians in the West were appeasing Japan.

Warsaw, where representatives of the colonial peoples voiced their demands with a freedom they have only known heretofore on the platform of the WFTU, could not ignore the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination. It made crystal clear what is perhaps the focal point of the world situation today: that in the name of peace, humanity cannot acquiesce in new wars of intervention by the U. S. and her satellites designed to repeat against the revolutionary movements of today Churchill's intervention war against the young Soviet Republic.

Provided that fact is realized by the West, the way is clear for peaceful settlement of all outstanding differences. As Ilya Ehrenburg proclaimed in a speech which gripped the huge Congress, the partisans of peace do not look to war to solve social problems:

"War is not the midwife of history. It is the abortionist of the flower of humanity."

ALBANIAN CHURCH DELEGATES ARRIVE
Hundreds of clergymen of all faiths were there

of some 700,000 in 1950 contests, headed by a total certain to top 250,000 votes for George Walsh, California IPP candidate for secretary of state. It included an estimate of 215,000 for the N.Y. ALP's first statewide ticket, 36,000 for Hugh DeLacy for State Representative in Cleveland, 12,000 for Harlan Talbert for U.S. Senator in Oregon.

Detailed breakdowns of local campaigns showed many candidates running far ahead of the PP's 1948 Wallace-Taylor vote.

Said PP executive secretary C. B. (Beanie) Baldwin:

"All of us can take pride in the way our party responded to the challenge which these elections posed. . . ."

POLITICS

CALIFORNIA

Progressive polls 20% of total vote

THE official count of Progressive candidates in the November elections was trickling in slowly. With 18 (the biggest) of California's 58 counties tallied, George Walsh, San Francisco longshoreman and Independent Progressive Party candidate for California secretary of state, had 241,636. (Wallace's vote in the state was 190,381).

Percentage-wise, top Progressive vote-getter throughout the country was John A. Peterson, San Mateo railroad machinist and IPP candidate for Congress from the Eighth District. Peterson's poll of 32,559 was 20% of all votes cast in his district. Other IPP congressional candidates in California polled 15% to 18% of the vote.

The IPP, flushed with electoral gains, went to work on its all-year-round campaign. In San Francisco IPP plunged into the fight against rent decontrol, rallied 20 other organizations to join it in a fight for a fair employment practices ordinance.

JOHN A. PETERSON
He was the top man

MARYLAND

Progressives miss convention status in state by squeak

Though the Ober Law, the nation's first and most thorough measure for thought control, was backed with hysterical zeal by almost every civic group, every radio commentator and newspaper (except the Negro **Afro-American**), 76,000 Marylanders (12%) voted against it. Where the Progressive Party, operating on a shoestring, concentrated their door-bell ringing, the vote went against the law.

Prime PP objective was to keep convention status. Chances for that were just about lost when Louis Shub, PP candidate for governor, was ruled off the ballot. Sam Fox, furniture worker making his first political race, drew 6,100 votes, as PP candidate for senator —350 short of qualifying the party statewide. But the vote gave the party convention status in Baltimore, where it can wage its campaign for mayor next spring. Fox's vote, outside of Baltimore, topped the Wallace 1948 vote.

GEORGIA

Talmadge takes a licking

Herman Talmadge had stumped the state for an amendment which, by extending the unit-county voting system, would have given far greater power to the rural areas (where Talmadge is strongest) at the expense of the more populous city counties. That system of weighting votes now operates only in primaries.

He appealed for the amendment as a bulwark of white supremacy; took ads showing interracial school scenes with the warning: "Don't let this happen here"; threatened local politicians: "Back the amendment or lose your new road."

The amendment was defeated overwhelmingly.

IDAHO: Glen Taylor, lame-duck Senator, said:

"I got defeated because I kept saying we could have peace. . . . I could never get out and make a stump speech giving the Russians hell because I don't feel that way about them or anybody else."

He plans to go into business in Idaho.

FREEDOMS

Bill of Rights loses on many fronts

THE U. S. Constitution took a further beating last week with these developments marking the decline and fall of basic freedoms:

● William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, was indicted for contempt of Congress following his appearance last August before a House committee investigating lobbying. In the committee hearings Rep. Henderson L. Lanham (D-Ga.), who has received no official rebuke, called Patterson a "G-- d--- black son of a b----" and tried to assault him.

● Also under contempt indictments for standing on Constitutional rights not to answer questions were Frederick V. Field, Far East expert; Philip Jaffe, former editor of the magazine **Amerasia**; Earl Browder, former Communist Party head; and Edward A. Rumley and Joseph P. Kamp, representatives of extreme right-wing groups. Browder's bail was fixed at $1,500; unable to produce it, he asked the judge for freedom on his own recognizance, but the judge remanded him to jail.

● The N. Y. Appeals Court unanimously declared constitutional the state Feinberg Law barring arbitrarily-styled "subversives" from employment as teachers. Arthur Garfield Hays, lawyer for a group of teachers and taxpayers challenging the law, said the decision would be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

● The American Bar Assn. appointed a committee to probe lawyers accused of being Communists, or who have defended Communists.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
Against Lanham, no charge

● The U. S. Supreme Court refused to postpone argument in the case of the 11 top Communist Party leaders, thereby making it impossible for them to be represented by D. N. Pritt, noted English lawyer whom they had engaged after 24 leading U. S. attorneys turned down the case.

● Gen. Eisenhower's Columbia University barred novelist Howard Fast from speaking on the campus as one whose "record creates honest doubt" that he would "contribute to an objective examination."

Fighting back

The National Lawyers Guild, under attack by the Un-American Activities Committee, replied by calling the committee "the chief instrument for undermining the whole democratic process in the United States."

University of California faculty members fighting a loyalty oath got help from the Northwestern University chapter of the American Assn. of University Professors, which voted to raise $1,500 to aid those fired and to help find them new jobs.

Rev. Richard Morford, director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, was back at work at his desk after a three-month jail sentence for contempt of Congress. Movie directors Edward Dmytryk and Herbert Biberman, of the Hollywood Ten, were paroled after serving five months of six-month sentences. Seven of the other

eight are still in prison; one of them, Lester Cole, lost an appeal by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, who had been ordered by a lower court to reinstate him in his job with $76,500 in back pay.

GILBERT WON'T DIE: President Truman took heed of the coast-to-coast protests against a death sentence for Negro 1st Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, victim of a jimcrow court-martial in Korea for "misbehaving in front of the enemy," by commuting it to 20 years' hard labor with dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances. The new sentence brought forth even stronger protests. The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People decided to join Lt. Gilbert's lawyer in an appeal against it. Rep. Vito Marcantonio pledged the American Labor Party to a fight for Gilbert's full freedom.

City officials ignore race riot threat

Detroit tension near breaking point

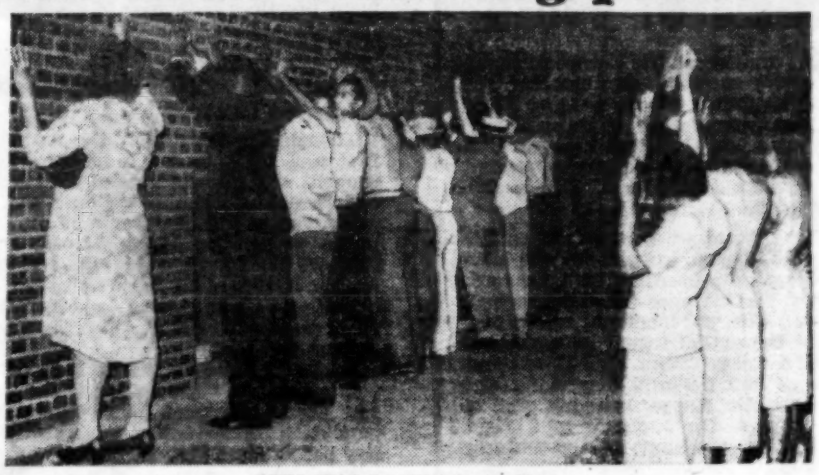
FOR months the GUARDIAN has warned of the danger of a race riot in Detroit, scene in 1943 of the worst race riot in recent times. It has frequently documented the grievances building up tensions: frightful slums for the Negro population, organized violence by real estate groups to preserve lily-white neighborhoods, an official policy of segregation in public housing projects, police brutality.

On Sunday morning, Nov. 19, the breaking-point seemed to have come. Two policemen went to the home of Charles M. Gordy, 53, a long-time employe of the Ford Motor Co., to arrest his son, Charles Jr., as a robbery suspect. Police had long harassed him because, his father said, he owned a Cadillac. The two officers had no warrant. One entered the house, roused Charles Jr. from his bed, hustled him out before he could finish dressing. On the porch both officers handcuffed his hands behind his back, kicked him and shoved him forward with a gun in his back.

THE SHOOTING: Charles Sr. got his deer rifle and returned to a window. He says one of the police saw him with the gun and fired at him, but accounts differ on who fired first. At any rate, when the shooting was done one cop was dead, the other wounded. Charles Jr. ran around a corner and surrendered to a Negro policeman.

Within moments a large force of policemen surrounded the two-story house and for a full hour poured pistol, rifle and sub-machine-gun fire into it. On the second floor live the Butler family of 15, four of them women, seven of them children. All of them, together with Gordy Sr., were eventually routed with tear gas grenades. Miraculously, none was hurt.

But a crowd, estimated at from 2,000 to 6,000, had gathered near the house. It was an orderly crowd but an angry and tense one. It did not go away when the 16 occupants of the house came out and the police, after kicking, cursing and threatening them and striking William Gordy, 16, on the head with a rifle butt, took them to the station as they were, some partially dressed and barefooted, one man in pajamas.



THIS WAS DETROIT IN 1943
Roundup of Negro residents who were gassed from their homes

THE WRECKERS: Police reinforcements were called up and for hours confronted the tense people crowding the sidewalks. Rumors that a Negro child had been killed rippled through them. In mid-afternoon four squads of police commandos in full battle gear—gas masks, crash helmets, submachine guns, army rifles with bayonets—arrived. The crowd was eventually dispersed and an explosive situation was averted without an explosion. But Rev. Charles A. Hill, a community leader, gave credit to the Negro policemen present. The crowd, he said, "was in a mood for direct action, but they responded to the Negro officers. The commandos couldn't have handled them without a lot of bloodshed."

But when the Butler family returned that night they found what had been their peaceful home looted and turned into a shambles. GUARDIAN's Detroit correspondent, Ruth Haney, described it:

> Every window in the house broken; glass crunching under foot; hundreds of embedded bullets and bullet holes in the walls, the ceilings; bullet holes through clothes hung to dry in the attic; even holes thru the roof. Dresser drawers and trunks broken open, their contents strewn on the floor; beds pulled apart, turned on their sides, broken, footprints on the mattresses. A grenade shell lay where it landed in the middle of one bed, the bedding burned. Several hundred dollars of the women's savings were gone from purses and trunks, along with $40 of the children's savings. Curtains were torn from the windows, venetian blinds dumped on the floor.
>
> The house was so saturated with tear gas that the Butlers could stay only long enough to assess the damage. Representatives of many organizations visited the scene and confirmed that it was thorough, deliberate and wanton wreckage.

THE AFTERMATH: Charles Gordy Sr. was held on a first degree murder charge; his son, though cleared of the robbery charge (police after five days' stalling admitted they had no evidence against him), was held in $10,000 bail as a material witness.

Today outraged anger burns through the Negro community of Detroit. A city official who preferred anonymity said:

> "The effect of last Sunday's affray is to intensify anti-police feeling in the Negro community. . . . The police feel this hostility—it is frightening to them—and they react to it. The tension increases; the overbearing and arrogant attitude of the police is continued and emphasized; the tension reaches the point where any slightest act by either side may touch off an explosion."

Rev. Hill, speaking for the Baptist Alliance and the Inter-Denominational Ministers Alliance, said:

> "We condemn the ruthlessness of the police and warn that if the administration doesn't change its policy to regard for the right of Negro people to be secure in their homes without molestation by police, except on proper legal authority, even worse things are in store than what took place Sunday."

Mrs. Elizabeth Tyrrell, chairman of a 1,000-member Baptist Women's Council and a vice-president of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

> "I am very much wrought up about this. It all creates a bad feeling that shouldn't be. . . . I have never been so shocked as I was when I saw how the police wrecked the Butlers' home."

THE REDS: On the Sunday following the tragedy, the ministers of each of Detroit's 500 Negro churches read from their pulpits a petition demanding a thorough investigation of police action. Other organizations have demanded the removal of Police Commissioner Boos and a reorganization of the department.

But the city administration has made no move in that direction, and the city's newspapers have used the situation to promote a demand for a grand jury investigation of local Communists. Said the Detroit Free Press:

> The Communists, well-organized and alerted to the possibility of any incident occurring at any place and any time, attempted to start a race riot.

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CALENDAR

New York

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General

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Item	Description & Colors	Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
FROM RUSSIA:				
1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Peach, rose, blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, lavender,	56x68	9.50	6.00
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Green, gold, blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	White with Blue Border			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:				
6	Pure linen double damask Hemstitched, 8 matching hemstitched napkins. Cream color.	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Pure linen. Open work design. 8 matching napkins. Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	Pure linen. White double damask Hemstitched, 12 matching napkins. Floral design	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	White double damask. Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins	70x108	30.00	20.00
9a	Pure linen damask. Floral design. 12 extra large napkins. Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM BELGIUM:				
10	Rayon damask. Floral design. 8 matching napkins. Grey, cream, blue, green	64x84	18.00	14.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	Pure linen white damask. 8 matching napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
PILLOWCASES:				
12	Before hemming. Pure Irish linen. Threads drawn by hand	43x38		5.50 a pair
13	Domestic percale. No starch. Thread drawn hems	42x36		9.20 a doz.
TOWELS:				
14	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	18x34		7.50 per doz.
14a	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	16x32		6.75 per doz.
14b	Face Towels. Pure linen. Floral design	20x36		9.50 per doz.

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BOOKS FOR PROGRESS

Jews in America—as they really were

By Elmer Bendiner

TO an American Jew, his own antecedents appear to have played no part in the world. Here and there he comes upon a Shylock character in fiction. In Jewish folk-lore there are tales of ghettoes and pogroms, and without explanation the freakish rise of a Disraeli or a Jewish Viceroy of India or a Baron Rothschild. Of the existence of ordinary Jewish people —Jews who with common people everywhere made history—there is hardly an inkling in school texts or the great Anglo-Saxon novels. The great upheavals of "Christendom"—its wars, revolutions and civilizing development — seem to have taken place without Jews.

A great contribution to the telling of American history as it was made—not by one people but by many peoples—is given in a massive new book by Morris U. Schappes.*

THEY WERE THERE: One seems to see all history in a new light, when one reads a seemingly unimportant anecdote in the letters of a Jewish soldier in the Union army. He recalls the Jews who fought at

the Battle of Waterloo, and one who cried out: "Sh'ma Yisroel" whenever he fired his gun because "it may be some Yehudee gets killed by him and he could never pardon himself if any one of his brethren should, through him, go out of the world without Shemos." Why has no novelist written the story of a Jew at Waterloo or a Jew at Valley Forge?

Schappes has gathered the raw materials for a hundred histories and novels. He presents only documents: letters, articles, leaflets, sermons in synagogues, speeches in Congress which reveal a part of what Jews were doing in the first two centuries of our country: 1654 to 1870.

The evidence they offer not only reveals the simple but forgotten fact that there were Jews in all our wars, crises, victories and defeats, but that among these Jews there were Jeffersonians and Federalists, abolitionists and slavers; that they were divided by influences of class as much as any other Americans, though always subject to a special impact as Jews.

FIGHTING AND DYING: In these documents are pictures of Jews protesting the anti-Semitism of Peter Stuyvesant, fighting the British, dying at the hands of tory-instigated Cherokees, addressing the Continental Congress, campaigning for Jefferson, fighting with the Confederacy as well as with the Union, appealing for the relief of famine-stricken Ireland, calling upon the Bible to prove the merits of slavery and also the sin of slavery, pioneering in the west.

Here is the union private

> . . . most solemnly impressed by hearing in these Virginian forests my brethren utter the Shymang Israel, which first our great lawgiver proclaimed in the plains of Arabia.

Here is Benjamin Nones, in 1800 called upon to defend himself against an anti-Semitic diatribe in a Federalist newspaper. He writes:

> I am accused of being a Jew, of being a republican, and of being poor.

Proud of all three conditions, he details his revolutionary war record—and writes of the monarchy:

> Kingly government was first conceded to the Jewish people as a punishment and a curse. . . . Great Britain has a king, and her enemies need not wish her the sword, the pestilence and the famine. . . . I am a Jew and if for no other reason, for that reason am I a republican. . . . But I am poor, I am so, my family also is large, but soberly and decently brought up. They have not been taught to revile a Christian because his religion is not so old as theirs. They have not been taught to mock even the errors of good intention, and conscientious belief. I hope they will always leave this to men as unlike themselves as I hope I am to your scurrilous correspondent. I know that to purse-proud aristocracy poverty is a crime, but it may sometimes be accompanied with honesty, even in a Jew.

ELEGANT BLOT: By contrast there is the fantastic, elegant aristocrat, Judah Benjamin. Louisiana planter, lawyer, legislator, Senator, brilliant pro-slavery secessionist, Attorney General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State of the Confederacy under Jeff Davis, he was a Jew but after the fall of the Confederacy and his flight to England, he sent back funds to help found the Ku Klux Klan.

He, too, taken side by side with all the common and better Jews of America, makes up the picture.

All of these documents are enriched by the profound scholarship, evidenced in copious notes, of Morris Schappes. It is not a history that Schappes has given us, but the breaking of fresh ground for the writing of history, the discovery of a lost vein which must one day enrich, perhaps rewrite history.

**DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE U. S. Edited by Morris U. Schappes. Citadel Press, N.Y. 800 pp. $5.*

LITTLE SCARED ONE

By Don West

(NOTE: To a certain church leader who signed a peace petition, then under pressure backed down and cried: "I was taken in by the reds.")

Hey, little scared one,
Run quick and hide
If you can't stand up
When the furies ride!

But where'll you hide?
Huh, don't ask me—
There's only the earth
And the sky and sea!

Maybe crawl in a hole—
Pull it in after,
Or climb in the loft
Under a rafter.

Little scared Christian—
Signed your name for peace
Then sniveled and cried
To get a release!

Once the floods were here,
Now it's the fire,
So little scared one,
Is your soul for hire?

And what do you ask,
What's the Judas price?
Little scared soul,
With the feet of ice!

There's no hiding place
In the earth below,
And heaven's a spot
Only brave men go!

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